LA FOLLETTE AND HIS NEW RADICAL BLOC

Back From the Exile Brought About by His Views on the War, the Wisconsin Senator May Hold the Balance of Power in Next Congress and Decide the 1924 Election

By DONALD A. CRAIG.

New York Herald Bureau, Washington, D. C., Nov. 25.

ONCE the "Lonely man of the Senate," disowned by his party, ostracised by his colleagues, condemned for his opposition to America's participation in the war, his expulsion from the Senate demanded and his political downfall predicted—Robert M. La Follette to-day is the leader of a faction, a radical bloc, that is likely to hold the balance of power in the House and perhaps in the Senate of the next Congress.

In his forty years and more of public life La Follette never has been stronger politically than he is at present. How is he going to use this power for good or evil in the Government? That is the question in the minds of the party leaders in Washington.

He already has announced his hostility to the Harding legislative program. He has called upon the radical and ultra-independent elements of the Republican and Democratic parties and the so-called Farmer-Labor leaders to follow his leadership in his war upon conservative leadership and dictation in Congress. These Representatives, Senators and agitators will gather in Washington in a few days. Some declaration of purpose is looked for. Then it may be that La Follette will decide whether he will continue his fight within the Republican party or break away in a third party movement.

Own Wisconsin Delegation May Hold Balance in House

While speaking to empty seats in the Senate soon after he first entered that body in 1905, La Follette said:

"Mr. President, I pause in my remarks to say this: I cannot be wholly indifferent to the fact that Senators by their absence at this time indicate their want of interest in what I have to say upon this subject. The public is interested. Unless this important question is rightly settled seats now temporarily vacant may be permanently vacated by those who have the right to occupy them at this time."

Whether this was merely vain bragging or prophecy, it has come true to a great extent. Many Senators have since come to think more like La Follette. He was at length accepted as a member of the Republican steering committee of the Senate, and in the elections this autumn he and his radical ideas were the chief cause of the defeat of some of the most strongly intrenched Old Guard Senators.

There are many persons who believe that La Follette now has it within his power to defeat the Republican party in the Presidential campaign of 1924. He is not strong enough to obtain for himself the Republican Presidential nomination, nor could he be elected on a third party ticket, but if the Republican organization leaders do not take him into the fold, permit him to dictate party policies and perhaps exercise the veto power at the convention, he may be able to throw the election to the Democrats.

"New parties are born, not made," said Senator La Follette to THE NEW YORK HERALD correspondent, who asked him for his own version of the political situation and a statement of his plans.

"A little group of men gathering together," he continued, "cannot form an important new party in this country merely of their own volition. If a new party comes it will come as the result of a clear cleavage between progressives and reactionaries. It is perfectly obvious that much may be done to hasten that hour by the administration which is in power in the White House.

"I am not chasing will-o'-the-wisps. I have been a long time in politics and have learned to look at political affairs practically. I see in the present situation the obvious fact that a few men will hold the balance of power in the Senate and the delegation from a single State (Wisconsin) will hold the balance of power in the House. There is an opportunity at the short session of the present Congress to build up an effective, defensive organization among the progressives of both parties, who have a good chance of defeating the Administration's legislative program and who, with the additions to their strength gained in the last elections, may be in a position to force much legislation of a constructive nature affecting two, at least, of the most vital questions of concern to the people of this country; namely, transportation and credit."

Thus it will be seen that Senator La Follette fully realizes the power which the close outcome of the recent elections gives him as the leader of the small faction which holds the balance of power between the nearly equal number of Republicans and Democrats in the next Congress; and, what is more to the point, that he has made up his mind to use that power.

Careful Not to Put Himself Up as Dictator of Group

In his discussion of his plans La Follette has been careful to say that he is not trying to be the dictator of the new insurgent organization. Aside from announcing the principles that he thinks it should adopt, he will not talk details. That is for all of the insurgent leaders in conference to determine, he says. In this course he shows wisdom; for these insurgents are as prima donnas in temperament and jealousies. Furthermore such liberal leaders as Borah are not invited to this conference. They hold that it would be a mistake to permit an insurgent movement to develop into a personal affair for the advancement of any one man's political fortunes. So they are holding back to await developments.

La Follette is well aware of this feeling and is willing for the present, at least, to refrain from the appearance of dominating the new movement.

Nevertheless he is fairly specific in his statement of intentions.

"The announced program of the Administration makes plain the necessity for immediate action," he said. "Disregarding the expressed will of the people, President Harding has demanded the passage of the ship subsidy bill by the present Congress. Administration leaders have indicated also a desire to rush through a program of legislation accelerating the merger of the railroads into a small number of monster systems, and giving the Railroad Labor Board coercive power to prohibit and punish strikes and other lawful activities of employees.

"Great interests are employing their influence with high officials in the Administration to effect the immediate transfer of the national forests to the control of the Secretary of the Interior, whose declared policy is to turn the natural resources of the nation over to exploitation by private monopoly.

"These measures must be defeated."

As the starting point of his more or less personally conducted insurgent movement, Senator La Follette has selected the People's Legislative Service, which was organized by him and a few other independents of both parties in Washington about two years ago, but which created no stir at the time because of its helplessness. It is in the name of that organization that Senator La Follette, as chairman of its directing council, has issued invitations to the conference of insurgents in Washington December 1 and 2.

His Career of Forty Years One Of the Stormiest in Politics

There is no man in American politics to-day who has had a stormier career than La Follette. He has been fighting the "System" and the "Interests," and the "Money Power of Wall Street" and the "Machine" and the "Reactionaries" ever since he was elected District Attorney in 1881 in Wisconsin, the State which in the recent elections chose him as Senator for a third time by something like 225,000 majority, the largest in his career. He was elected to Congress in 1884, reelected twice, and became a member of the Ways and Means Committee with William McKinley. He was defeated for reelection in the Democratic landslide of 1890, but soon entered the political lists again, determined to overthrow the "Machine." He was the campaign manager for Congressman Haugen when Haugen ran for Governor of Wisconsin in 1894 and lost. He was himself a candidate for Governor two years later. He battled with the State organization, and after winning the caucuses and district conventions lost in the State convention.

Continuing to work within the Republican party for reforms, he refused President McKinley's offer of the position of Comptroller of the Treasury, which would have removed him from Wisconsin. In 1898 he again became a candidate for Governor and again was defeated for the nomination. But in 1900 he defeated the "machine" in his State, won the nomination and was elected Governor by 100,000 majority. The State Senate, remaining in control of the conservatives, defeated his program of reform legislation.

In 1902 La Follette again won the Governorship in a memorable campaign, during which he charged the State organization with all sorts of corruption. But again the State Senate was against him on most issues. The faction led by Senator Spooner tried to defeat him in 1904, but he was reelected, and at last carried the State Legislature with him.

He at once started to put into effect his legislation, including a tax on railroad property and all public utilities at the same rate as applied to other taxable property; an inheritance tax, a civil service reform law, a law to regulate paid lobbyists, a law creating a State railroad commission, water power legislation, establishment of a State forest reserve, insurance law, a child labor law, &c. He refused to accept election by the Legislature to the United States Senate in 1905 unless his legislative program was carried into effect, and in this he won out.

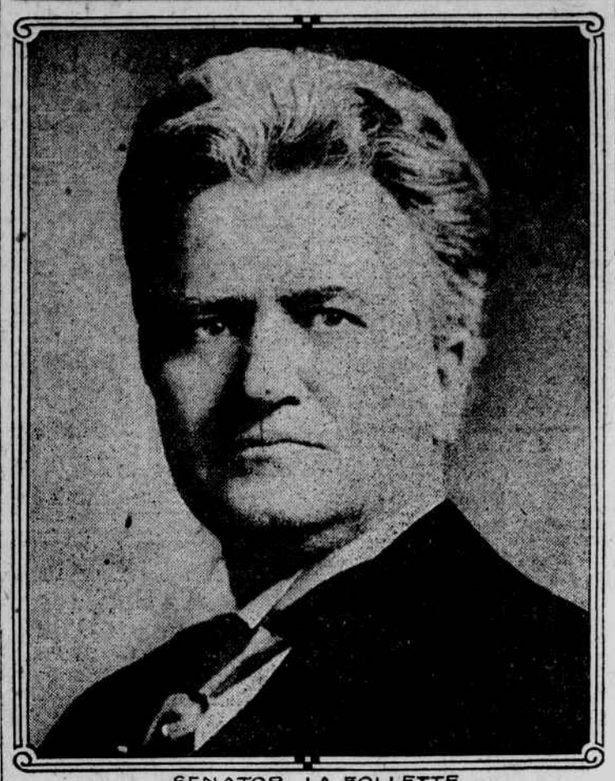
Was an Insurgent Leader In Payne-Aldrich Debates

As a United States Senator he took an early part in the insurgent movement that began to crystalize during the fight over the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill. He fought the bill to a finish along with nine other insurgent Republicans, but they were overridden. It was not until 1906, during the debate on the Hepburn railroad rate bill, that La Follette first impressed himself on the country as a national figure. He delivered a speech against the bill which was ridiculed by many of his Republican colleagues, but which made an impression throughout the country. He offered nine different amendments to the bill based upon the railroad laws of Wisconsin. Not one was adopted, but since then several of his amendments have been recommended by Presidents and incorporated in the law.

When the bill to amend the Interstate Commerce law was up in the second session of the Sixty-first Congress La Follette exercised a real influence in shaping its provisions. Aided by the other insurgent Republicans, he battled for three months in 1910 to change this bill, and, after nine important amendments had been made as a result of the insurgent demands, he voted for the measure on its final passage.

The "Money Trust" was also singled out for attack by "Fighting Bob." It was in an attack on the Aldrich-Vreeland currency bill that he delivered his famous nineteen hour speech, breaking all speaking records in the Senate. "La Follette's filibuster" began on the afternoon of May 29, 1908, and his object was to "talk the bill to death." Several Democratic Senators who had promised to help him either misunderstood the plan or were called off by the Republican leader, Senator Aldrich. The great filibuster collapsed after setting a new record, during one of the most dramatic scenes ever enacted in Congress.

AT WAR WITH ADMINISTRATION



SENATOR LA FOLLETTE
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La Follette continued his fight for liberal legislation, and some of his ideas were so radical that he alienated the milder independents. Most of them, for instance, would not follow him as far as advocating an amendment to the Constitution by which Congress would be empowered to reenact a law and make it effective after the Supreme Court of the United States has declared it to be unconstitutional."

During the period of the world war La Follette went into eclipse. One reason was his opposition to the war and the anti-La Follette sentiment that manifested itself throughout the country when the war spirit was at its height. He made an anti-war speech in St. Paul, Minn., on September 20, 1917, that brought a movement for his impeachment into the Senate.

The Minnesota Commission of Public Safety adopted resolutions denouncing the speech and asking the Senate to expel Senator La Follette "as a teacher of disloyalty and sedition, giving aid and comfort to our enemies and hindering the Government in the conduct of the war."

The resolutions were sent to Senator Kellogg of Minnesota and laid before the Senate, which referred them to the Committee on Privileges and Elections. That committee asked La Follette whether he had been correctly quoted in the press. He replied that he had not. Later he furnished the committee with a true copy of his speech, which was not as strong in its language as the original newspaper report. La Follette defended himself on the floor and briefs were submitted to the committee in his behalf arguing that there had been nothing disloyal in his remarks and upholding the right of free speech.

Senator Dillingham of Vermont, on behalf of the majority of the committee, including most of the Republicans and some Democrats, reported to the Senate on December 2, 1918, that the committee had "considered the entire case as presented and recommended that the petition preferred by the said Minnesota Commission of Public Safety be dismissed for the reason that the speech in question does not justify any action by the Senate." The committee recommended the adoption of a resolution to dismiss the petition and this was done by a vote of 50 to 21 on January 16, 1919, two months after the armistice.

Senator Pomerene of Ohio, Democrat and chairman of the committee, in a minority report insisted that the Senate should try Senator La Follette on the charge of disloyalty. Pomerene held that the committee had not made a complete investigation and that there was no testimony to show that La Follette had ever explained away "the natural effect of his utterances, save that he can substantiate every statement made in the speech, that he believed in their accuracy at the time they were made and still believes them to be correct."

During the period when his right to sit in the Senate was questioned La Follette was seldom in Washington. He was absent on one occasion for more than six months. Later it was explained that he had been nursing his sick son, Robert, Jr., through a long and critical illness. For days Senator La Follette did not leave the bedside and did not take off his clothes. His devotion to his son was largely, if not altogether, responsible for the young man's recovery. He is now his father's secretary.

On account of his war record it is doubtful whether La Follette would ever be a successful candidate for the Presidency. He has, however, demonstrated his ability to arouse the voters against his political opponents and in his own behalf in his own and neighboring States before and since the war.

Was Presidential Candidate In 1912-1920 Conventions

He was a candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination in 1912, when Taft was nominated and Roosevelt organized the Progressive party. Some of the prominent Progressives had previously promised to support La Follette's candidacy, but they deserted the Wisconsin Senator for Col Roosevelt. He was an aspirant for the Republican Presidential nomination in 1920, and his little bloc of delegates from Wisconsin were the only members of the Republican National Convention that year who refused on the final vote to come over to Harding, thereby preventing unanimous nomination on the final ballot.

In the recent Congressional campaign La Follette took advantage of every chance to attack the Administration and charge it with being "reactionary." He made the most of the refusal of the Republican leaders to unseat Senator Newberry of Michigan. He not only carried on the most successful campaign of his career in his own State, but he went over into nearby States and spoke against Administration candidates. His attacks upon Senator Kellogg, Republican, of Minnesota, are regarded as having been chiefly instrumental in the unexpected defeat of Kellogg for reelection.

Openly espousing the cause of radicals and insurgents of every political stripe, Senator La Follette flirted with the Farmer-Labor Party and the Non-Partisan League, both of which have been stirring up the political sea in the Northwest and middle Western States in recent years. He is now seeking to draw into his new insurgent organization men affiliated with both of these movements.

Those who know Senator La Follette best, however, doubt whether he will desert the Republican party and engage in a movement for a new party. They say he is too practical for that. In recent years he has not held himself so much aloof from the Republican leaders of the Senate, but has shown himself more willing to play the game. Curiously enough, Senator Penrose of Pennsylvania, whom Senator La Follette had frequently denounced as the worst type of political boss, and who once in a bitterly satirical speech called La Follette a common carttail medicine vender, became personal, though not political friends shortly before Penrose died. It was said in the Senate that Penrose was the only man who could "handle" the fiery La Follette.

Those who do not expect La Follette to bolt the party think he will go to great extremes in an effort to bring the party to his way of thinking, and to increase his own political prestige. Perhaps he will even be willing to see the Republican party defeated at the polls next time if he is not successful in leading it by the nose.

THE MOSCOW-ANGORA ACCORD

By FRANCIS M'CULLAGH.

Special Correspondence to THE NEW YORK HERALD.

Moscow, Oct. 24.

THERE is close communication between the Governments of Moscow and Angora, not only through the Caucasus but also by Russian submarine from Sebastopol to the port of Sinope. Early in September, on the suggestion of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs in Moscow, the commander of the Black Sea fleet sent in this way, in the submarine N, Riza Noor Bey, the Minister Extraordinary of the Angora Government, who was on his way from Moscow to his own country. This submarine never, apparently submerges.

On reaching Sinope the Turkish naval officer in command of the port came aboard the submarine in a sloop, welcomed the Russian commander to Turkish waters and invited him and the crew ashore. The invitation was accepted and the Red naval officers and sailors met in town the Turkish head of the garrison, the commander of the fortress and the principal military and civil representatives of Sinope, who expressed their thanks to the Soviet Government "for not turning its back to the Turkish nation, as the other European States had done, when that nation was traversing the very gloomiest period of its struggle for freedom; but, on the contrary, for giving Turkey comfort and assistance."

The commander and the commissar of the submarine declared in reply that though unauthorized to speak for Soviet Russia in a political sense, they nevertheless felt it their duty to thank the Turkish functionaries in the name of the Russian Government.

Turks Entertain Bolshevist Sailors at Open Air Banquet

Meanwhile the crew of the submarine was shown round the town, and, in the evening officers and crew sat down to a banquet given them in the open air by their Turkish hosts. At this banquet Riza Noor Bey assisted as well as the local Turkish authorities, and at the end he expressed the pleasure it had given him to work with the representatives of the Soviet Government at Moscow. After dinner the Turkish functionaries were shown over the submarine, in the mechanism of which they took the greatest interest. Toward nightfall the submarine left for Sebastopol, which it reached next day.

Soviet Russia enjoys the great advantage of being able to deal with Turkey through States which, nominally independent, are really as much subject to Moscow as Tunis is to France. Azerbaijan and Georgia can back up the Turks as strongly as they like and even send them arms. Moscow disclaims all responsibility "since these are autonomous States."

Hence it comes that Mustapha Kemal is now surrounded by Russian envoys who are pushing him much further than he ever wanted to go. The Committee of Union and Progress is also hand in glove with the Bolshevikl, and five members of that dangerous society, just elected to the National Assembly at Angora, are making it very difficult for Kemal to be reasonable.

The Bolshevikl are not only active in Asia Minor, however; they are also active in Galicia, where they are conducting an anti-Polish campaign of propaganda. In this they are assisted by Petruszewicz, the East Galician Nationalist, who lives in Vienna, and, curiously enough, by Makhno, the anti-Bolshevist bandit, who fled for refuge into Poland about a year ago and has just been locked up by the Poles in the Warsaw citadel. This, however, is another matter.

Caucasian Republics Send Congratulations to Angora

To return to Angora. Comrade Mdivani, the representative of the Caucasian republics to the Angora Government, arrived on October 17 at Angora, where he was given a great reception by the Turkish authorities. He said he had come to congratulate the Great National Assembly and Mustapha Kemal in the name of the Caucasian republics on their victory over their common enemy, the imperialists. He described the immense enthusiasm which the Turkish victories had aroused among the natives of Transcaucasiana and said that the relations between the Caucasian republics and Turkey were as friendly as the relations between Turkey and Russia. Comrade Mdivani expressed the hope that at the conference to be held on the question of the straits Turkey would, to safeguard their common interests against the imperialists of the Entente, take up the same position as the Soviet Republic.

It is quite certain that the representatives of the Caucasian republics are carrying on a little anti-British propaganda in Asia Minor, though this contravenes, perhaps, the terms of the Anglo-Russian trade agreement; and the result of this and other causes of friction makes Anglo-Russian relations more delicate than they have been at any time since the trade agreement was signed. And just at this critical moment comes the fall of Lloyd George, whose replacement by a Conservative Government might probably mean the recall of the British mission in Moscow.

The official *Izvestia* of October 22 seemed quite proud of the fact that Lloyd George's Russian policy and the non-ratification of the Urquhart agreement consequent on the British Government's refusal to invite Russia to the Near Eastern conference probably led, between them, to the Premier's fall. But it fails to see that a Conservative Ministry can hit back by recalling the British mission and dropping Russia altogether, seeing that the Soviet Government thus insists on punishing private British subjects for any political action on the part of the British Government which the Bolsheviki do not like. If Lenine washes out all contracts concluded by his Government with British merchants every time that a British Minister of Foreign Affairs forgets to invite Mr. Tchitcherin to his tea parties then it is better for Great Britain to wash her hands of Russia and for Britishers to make no business contracts whatsoever with Russian Government departments—for there are no private Russians big enough to make large contracts with.

The worst Anglophobe outbreaks of the Caucasian Reds are not printed in the Moscow papers, but we can judge how bad these worst are by the specimens which pass the censor. For instance, a telegram sent by Comrade Sanulsky, chairman of the Daghestan Central Executive Committee, to Lenine, Kalinin, Stalin and Tchitcherin, protests in most violent language "against the abominable policy of the international policeman," England, and against her oppression of the laboring Moslem masses.

Attack England for Its "Conquest" of Daghestan

"The poor of Daghestan can never," continues Comrade Sanulsky, "forget the years 1918 and 1919, when the English Imperialist hangmen sent through the Dardanelles the troops of Bicherakhov and Denikin and temporarily conquered the Daghestan territory, shooting down its best people, and trying to degrade freedom loving Daghestan into an English colony of slaves. Red Daghestan understands why the British wish to establish their rule over the straits. . . . It is in order to destroy the Soviet Federation and prevent our economic growth. But Russia, the great promoter of the holy ideas of Socialism and the true protector of the oppressed East and of all working people everywhere; Russia, which was the first country in the world to throw off the Imperialistic yoke, freed Daghestan from the Czarist conspirators and awoke the East from its century-long slumbers. The poor of Daghestan, living one life with Soviet Russia and having only the same desires as she, is ready to shed the last drop of her blood on behalf of Russia's policy in the Near East, the policy which guarantees to Russia the use of the straits without any imperialist control. The Russo-Turkish treaty of March 16, 1921, must never be broken. Down with the imperialist hangmen!"

This document, which was printed in the official *Pravda*, does not look unlike Anglophobe propaganda wherein Soviet Russia undertook not to indulge.

New York's Short Work Day Said to be Causing Haste and Waste

"9 to 5" Is the General Schedule While Many Think 10 o'Clock is a Bit too Early

Twenty Years Has Made a Big Change—Unions Look for 6-Hour Day in Future

By JOHN LATHROP.

ARE we working hours enough? Are we working hard enough, enthusiastically enough, with initiative and pride in our duties, with sheer creative joy in productive acts? Do we drive a nail, or a taxicab, or an honorable bargain for anything else than to get our wages or salaries? And we New Yorkers? How about us? To-day, compared with twenty years ago? Are we, as a mass, giving more than a quid pro quo, or just "getting by"?

Phyffe came from Holland 150 years ago and made the best furniture he knew how to make. He did more than just get his money. He made such good furniture that examples of it have been on exhibition for a month at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Was he right to put in more effort than he simply had to, to get by? Or are the different conditions of to-day—the admittedly different conditions—better for us who work for others, better for the whole social body?

Phyffe wrought in a day when craftsmen were proud of their work. Then, and even down to the time our grandfathers were here, every carpenter boasted that when he made a joint it would "pinch a hair."

How about to-day—to-day right here in New York city, for instance? Is the old spirit left to a considerable extent?

The Two Men Who Came From the Little Ohio Town

Here is a true case: Henry Powers is an employee of a prominent financial firm in New York city. His hours are from 9 to 12:30, and from 1 to 5—a seven and a half hour day. He has observed these hours for just ten years, when he came from a little Ohio town. He is in the same position as then, has had an increase of salary, enough to keep up with the increase of the cost of living. He can buy as many potatoes, as much sugar, as much of anything as then, but not a whit more.

Over him as office manager is Frank Jenkins, who was Powers's "side kick" from the same Ohio hic town. They roomed together for three years. Then Jenkins got a room in a better boarding house. He put in more time than he had to, mastered the business and finally was advanced. Now he lives in a pleasant suburb, and comparatively is on Easy Street.

Powers has stuck faithfully to his duties, honestly, regularly. There is not on the firm's records a single mark against him. But he has stood still. Jenkins, the one who rose to office manager, has been bitterly criticized. He has been referred to by sociological orators in the firm's offices as "unsocial." He was "currying favor." He was "making it hard for the others."

One might extend the list as long as your arm of examples which in principle duplicate the cases of Powers and Jenkins. But these instances will illustrate several phases of the inquiry desired.

These men came from an Ohio town where longer hours were worked than in this great city. To-day the hours out there are longer than here. In that little town 8 o'clock is regarded as a rather "swell" hour at which to go to work in a store, and as for office employees, even the average lawyer, his own boss, begins his day's labor at that hour.

Back Twenty Years, When The Day Began Before 11 A.M.

Come back to New York. The lawyer gets to his office at 10 or 11 o'clock. I asked one of that class with offices in Pine street:

"You were practicing here twenty years ago. Didn't you used to come to business earlier?"

"Yes, I did," he replied. "I used to come at 8:30 usually, at the same time my assistants came. But you know so many social things keep a fellow up late at night, and the same with my assistants. So we have cut down on working hours."

"Honestly," I persisted, "do you get away with as much actual business? Do you accomplish as much as you did twenty years ago?"

"Certainly I do not," was his answer. "I believe I used to do twice as much in a day. Really, twice as much."

I made many calls and used the telephone to supplement the inquiries. It was amazing to hear the admissions that most of them made of shortened hours and shortened production. It seemed to run through the whole working system in New York city. For it was a true cross section which was cleaved in the inquiry.

The mass of city workers go to duties at 9 and quit at 5. That is, those who belong to no unions.

The manager of one of the great hotels was quizzed. "With us," he said, "there has been a vast change in twenty years. I haven't a person in this hotel who works more than eight hours. Twenty years ago, of course, we all were on duty longer hours. I see, however, some difference as to a hotel. Many of the jobs are going on twenty-four hours a day. So three shifts are necessary—eight hours each.

"But I'll tell you what I do observe. I've been in the business a long time. I notice that men who have to do with business lately put in much less time than they used to. Ten and 11 o'clock is a common hour for them to go to their offices. Is that right, you ask. Why, I haven't a doubt that it isn't. It's all bunk to claim that anything has happened to enable a man to do more actual work in the five or six hours a day such men put in nowadays than they did twenty years ago with a much longer day. It's simply bunk."

As to department stores, the situation was outlined by the vice-president of one of the great stores on Broadway near Thirty-fourth street:

"We open our store at 9. It would not be worth while to open earlier. Why? Because the people have got into habits of late rising, and customers wouldn't come earlier to shop. We prefer to have our employees come just before 9. There is no use for them to come sooner. And we rather insist that they go immediately at closing time—5:30.

"But observe—the shortening of hours jams shopping into less time, produces congestion, demands more employees and, if you want to know my real feelings—we all lose. There isn't such a thing as leisurely shopping any more. Why, it's a riot almost from opening to closing time. And that doesn't yield intelligent buying and the most efficient service. It causes irritation to staff and customers and, all in all, it isn't well.

"Twenty years ago? We opened at 8 and closed at 6. Honestly, I wish the old days were back again."

Over on Fifth avenue the manager of a more expensive store confessed:

"During the summer months we have to close all day Saturday. That is a subtraction of one-sixth of the normal working week. Who pays for it? you ask. The customer, of course. We have to carry on our overhead all day on those Saturdays. It must be added to the price charged on the other five days."

"Twenty years ago?" I suggested.

"Oh!" he exclaimed, "we never thought of such things. This is a new day—a mighty expensive day, too. The people 'pay the freight.'"

I referred to what the Thirty-fourth street store vice-president had said, and the Fifth avenue manager added:

"He is absolutely right. Modern

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